

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 10986 01 OF 02 292124Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----009228 292129Z /65

O 292035Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 419

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 10986

EXDIS

DEPT REPEAT AS DESIRED

E.O. 11652: XGDS
TAGS: PFOR, IS, US, UR, XF
SUBJECT: CONSULTATION WITH KUZNETSOV ON MIDDLE EAST ROUND II

REF: (A) MOSCOW 9875, (B) STATE 171271, (C) STAE 172370,
(D) STATE 177325

SUMMARY: DURING JULY 29 MEETING KUZNETSOV PRESSED FOR CLARIFICATION ON BEGIN'S AND US STANCE ON PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION AT GENEVA MEPC, ON 242 AND TERRITORIAL ISSUE, AND ON WHETHER BEGIN WAS ATTEMPTING TO IGNORE ROLE OF GENEVA CO-CHAIRMEN. HE ACCUSED US OF BUILDING UP ISRAELI ARMS BEYOND POINT OF MERE SUFFICIENCY AT A TIME WHEN ISRAEL WAS HATCHING NEW SCHEMES FOR MILITARY AGGRESSION. I REJECTED BOTH ASSERTIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. I MET WITH ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER KUZNETSOV AND DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER KORNIYENKO TODAY FOR 40 MINUTES AND MADE POINTS COVERED IN REF B.
2. THANKING ME, KUZNETSOV SAID THAT FROM MY PRESENTATION PLUS WHAT HE HAD READ IN PRESS HE HAD SEVERAL QUESTIONS:

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 10986 01 OF 02 292124Z

A. ON THE ONE HAND BEGIN HAS DECLARED THAT HE IS READY TO GO TO THE GENEVA MEPC WITHOUT ANY PRIOR CONDITIONS; ON THE OTHER HAND HE HAS INSISTED THAT HE WILL NOT SIT AT THE TABLE WITH PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES. COULD I EXPLAIN THIS "INCOMPATIBILITY?"

-- I REPLIED THAT AS I HAD SAID IN OUR PREVIOUS

MEETING THIS WAS A PRACTICAL QUESTION. ISRAEL WOULD NOT ATTEND MEPC AS LONG AS THE PLO POSITION CONCERNING THE EXISTANCE OF ISRAEL REMAINS UNCHANGED. AS PRESIDENT CARTER HAD INDICATED IN HIS JULY 28 PRESS CONFERENCE, UNTIL THE PALESTINIAN LEADERS ALTER THEIR POSITION HE SEES NO WAY WE COULD ADVOCATE THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE MEPC.

-- KUZNETSOV REMARKED THAT THE US SEEMED READY TO SUPPORT ISRAEL ON THIS MATTER. THE NET RESULT MIGHT BE THAT WITH THE ISSUE UNRESOLVED THE MEPC COULD BE DELAYED. BY THEIR STATEMENTS THE ISRAELIS CONTINUE TO CHARACTERIZE THE PLO AS NOTHING BUT A GANG OF TERRORISTS. BUT THE PLO HAS DECLARED ITS WILLINGNESS TO ATTEND THE MEPC AND THAT FACT SAYS MUCH IN ITSELF.

B. WHAT IS THE US POSITION ON THE ISRAELI STANCE WHICH IN EFFECT DEMANDS PLO RECOGNITION WHILE REFUSING TO RECOGNIZE THE PLO OR THE RIGHT TO EXISTENCE OF A PALESTINIAN STATE? THE US SEEMS TO SUPPORT ISRAEL'S STANCE AND AN "INSURMOUNTABLE OBSTACLE" REMAINS UNLESS THE US CHANGES ITS POSITION.

-- I SAID IT WAS INCORRECT TO SAY WE SUPPORTED ISRAEL'S STANCE ON THIS ISSUE. OUR POSITION WAS THAT THE PALESTINIANS SHOULD BE REPRESENTED BUT, AS THE PRESIDENT INDICATED, WITHOUT SIGNIFICANT MOVEMENT ON THE PART OF THE PALESTINIANS WE FOUND
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 10986 01 OF 02 292124Z

IT DIFFICULT TO PRESS THE ISRAELIS. I SAID I HOPED THAT DURING SECRETARY VANCE'S TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST HE WOULD LEARN SOMETHING FROM THE ARAB SIDE WHICH WOULD BE USEFUL IN SOLVING THIS PROBLEM. AS WE HAD SAID DURING THE VANCE-GROMYKO GENEVA TALKS, ONE WAY MIGHT BE TO INCLUDE PALESTINANS AS PART OF ANOTHER ARAB DELEGATION, E.G. THE JORDANIANS. BUT THERE APPEARED TO BE NO AGREEMENT IN THE ARAB WORLD ON THIS AND IT REMAINS A VERY DIFFICULT PROBLEM.

C. COULD THE US GIVE A POSITIVE DEFINITIVE ANSWER AS TO WHETHER ISRAEL WOULD ACCEPT PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION AS MEMBERS OF AN ARAB DELEGATION, OR WAS THIS JUST RUMOR?

-- I SAID IT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE US AND I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO ISRAEL. WHEN KUZNETSOV ASKED WHAT KIND OF AN ARAB DELEGATION WITH PALESTINIAN MEMBERSHIP I CONSIDERED WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO TEL AVIV, I SAID SPEAKING PERSONALLY I THOUGHT A JORDANIAN DELEGATION WAS THE MOST LIKELY.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 10986 02 OF 02 292135Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----009365 292140Z /65

O 292035Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 420

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 10986

EXDIS

-- KUZNETSOV ADMITTED THAT THE ARAB WORLD REMAINED
DIVIDED ON THIS; THE EGYPTIANS SEEMED TO FAVOR A SEPARATE
PALESTINIAN DELEGATION AND THE SYRIANS FAVOR PARTICIPATION IN
A GENERAL ARAB DELEGATION. IN ANY EVENT, IT WOULD BE
USEFUL IF THE US SIDE AND ISRAEL WOULD MAKE A MORE
CONCRETE DEFINITIVE STATEMENT OF HOW THE PALESTINIANS COULD
BE INCLUDED. TIME WAS RUNNING SHORT.

D. ON RESOLUTION 242, BEGIN'S POSITION ON TERRITORIAL
QUESTION IS UNCLEAR. COULD I CLARIFY THE ISRAELI POSITION AS WELL
AS THE U.S. POSITION ON THIS QUESTION?

-- I REPLIED THAT RE THE ISRAELI POSITION ALL I COULD SAY
WAS THAT BEGIN SUPPORTS 242.

-- KORNIYENKO INTERVENED TO REMARK THAT BEGIN REFERRED
TO THE WEST BANK NOT AS "OCCUPIED" BUT AS "LIBERATED" TERRITORY.

-- I REPEATED THE US POSITION: A RETURN TO THE 1967
BORDERS WITH MINOR RECTIFICATIONS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT
SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS. BUT I EMPHASIZED THAT WE HAD NOT DRAWN
A MAP, THAT THE PRECISE DEFINITION OF BORDERS WAS A SUBJECT FOR
NEGOTIATION BY THE PARTIES DIRECTLY INVOLVED, AND THAT MU
UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT THERE WAS NO SPECIAL DISCUSSION OF
A BORDER FORMULA WITH BEGIN WHILE HE WAS IN WASHINGTON.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 10986 02 OF 02 292135Z

E. IS BEGIN IGNORING THE ROLE OF THE GENEVA CO-CHAIRMEN?

HE SPEAKS OF THREE COMMISSIONS.

-- I SAID I COULD NOT SHED ANY MORE LIGHT ON BEGIN'S COMMENTS BUT I THOUGHT THEY WOULD BE CLARIFIED DURING THE UPCOMING VANCE VISIT.

F. DOES THE US AGREE THAT FURTHER STEPS MUST BE TAKEN TOWARD A POLITICAL SOLUTION? THE US SEEMS TO BE INTENT ON BUILDING UP ISRAEL'S ARMS SUPPLY TO THE POINT THAT IS MORE THAN SUFFICIENT "AND THIS PUTS US AND OTHERS ON GUARD." SOVIETS HAVE IMPRESSION THAT ISRAEL MAY BE HATCHING NEW SCHEMES FOR MILITARY AGGRESSION. THE US SEEMS TO BE PUSHING THE ISRAELIS INTO A POSITION OF USING THEIR ARMS IN THEIR OWN INTERESTS. ISRAEL IS STILL SMARTING FROM THE EVENTS OF 1973 AND APPEARS DETERMINED TO BUILD UP AND DEMONSTRATE ITS MIGHT.

-- I SAID THAT WITH DUE RESPECT TO KUZNETSOV, HIS CHARACTERIZATION OF ISRAEL WAS INACCURATE AND HE WAS TOTALLY ERRONEOUS CONCERNING OUR POSITION. AS FORMER AMBASSADOR TO ISRAEL I COULD STATE THAT

1. ISRAEL IS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT ITS SECURITY.
2. WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN A COMMITMENT TO SATISFY ISRAEL'S SECURITY CONCERNS.
3. WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE OF AGGRESSIVE INTENT BY BEGIN OR ANYONE ELSE IN HIS CABINET.
4. WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF STIMULATING ISRAEL TOWARD ANY ADVENTURISTIC MOVES.

3. IN CLOSING I ASKED WHETHER KUZNETSOV HAD ANY OBJECTION TO MY TELLING THE US PRESS TODAY THAT WE HAD MET AGAIN TO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 10986 02 OF 02 292135Z

DISCUSS THE MIDDLE EAST. HE SAID HE HAD NONE.

4. COMMENT: AS BEFORE KUZNETSOV WAS SOFT SPOKEN AND BUSINESS LIKE. HOWEVER, HIS REMARKS SEEMED TO REFLECT A GROWING SOVIET UNEASINESS IN THE WAKE OF BEGIN'S ELECTION AND HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON. I CAN WELL UNDERSTAND SOVIET UNHAPPINESS OVER THE POSSIBILITY THAT BEGIN'S POSITION THREATENS TO POSTPONE THE GENEVA MEPC. KUZNETSOV'S ACCUSATION RE US ARMS BUILDUP AND ALLEGED AGGRESSIVE SCHEMES OF BEGIN REGIME MAY INDICATE THAT WE FACE A HEAVY PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN ON THIS COUNT.
TOON

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION, PEACE TALKS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 29-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977MOSCOW10986
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: DG ALTERED
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770273-0128
Format: TEL
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t1977075/aaaaadoa.tel
Line Count: 218
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 99f8356a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 77 MOSCOW 9875, 77 STATE 171271, 77 STATE 177325
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1837676
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CONSULTATION WITH KUZNETSOV ON MIDDLE EAST ROUND II
TAGS: PFOR, IS, US, UR, XF, (KUZNETSOV), (BEGIN, MENAHEM)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/99f8356a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009